28: Spiro--88-89
116, 854, 827, 865

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"During this early infancy, I seldom heard an infant cry, there being but two occasions which evoke a crying response. It is believed that an infant which lies still in its cradle, without moving, will not grow. It is also believed that it is bad for the infant to lie on its stomach, but that it is good to lie on its side. The mother constantly watches the infant to see that it moves or does not lie on its stomach. If it does not move or does lie on its stomach, she will turn him on [89] its side, and this occurs, not infrequently. The infant often cries at this disturbance, whereupon the mother will lift it out of the cradle and nurse it."

28: Spiro--94 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 858, 865 Ifalik

"The generally accepted adult view of infants, therefore, has it that the infant is a powerless, innocent, creature, who must neither be restrained nor punished. The resultant adult behavior is one of indulgence, and little attempt is made to train the child until he can walk and/or talk."

28: Spiro--95 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 865 Ifalik

"Inhibition of aggression is demanded of children at an early age. Fighting of any kind, even in jest, is prohibited by adults. Fighting is invariably punished by beating, being thrown into the lagoon, and other forms of punishment. The same holds true for lying or stealing. The training is effective. I have never seen children above the ages of eight or nine fighting."

28: Spiro--102 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 858, 561, 865 Ifalik

"The children in this group--between the latency period and pre-puberty are, unquestionably, the least favored group. The infants are pampered and overindulged. The pre-puberty children, though not indulged, have a favorable position. They are economic assets, and hence have the respect of their parents and adults. They enjoy many adult prerogatives, such as assistance in adult work, free mobility, and, in the case of the boys, a position of equality in the canoe houses, where they may lounge or work as of right, and not by sufferance. The intermediate group has none of these privileges. Furthermore, having been dethroned by the infant, they find themselves subservient to the older children. The latter order them around, have them fetch objects for them, etc.

This means that they have no visible means of ego support. The older children receive their emotional response from their peers, looking to them for esteem and affection, and together can pit themselves, if necessary, against the adult world. The younger children do not have that source. Having experienced a traumatic rejection they have not yet learned to establish genuine interractional patterns with their peers. Furthermore, they are still attempting to ingratiate themselves with their parents, and view their peers as possible threats to such attempts. Thus, as we shall soon see, there is much rivalry between the children for the attention of the adult, and aggression between

themselves. Since, children are instructed from the time they can speak that aggression is the most heinous offence, and they are punished should they fight, there would probably be much more of it were it allowed fuller expression."

28: Spiro--102 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-1
116, 865, 857, 578 Ifalik

"Some simple examples of aggression may be described. Five year old Talavusman had cut his leg, and as I applied merthiolate to the cut, he began to cry. Iliakong and Lezabung, who were sitting with us, began to make fun of him, laughed at him, and imitated his crying.

Lemalialok told Talavusman to sit down. He refused and spit in her face. Talemelemar, who was present, then spit in Talavusman's face.

A group of children were digging for some roots. Talemelemar tried to dig for the root of some girl. She pushed him aside, and he fell on his face, crying. While digging, Iliakong smeared dirt all over Talavusman, who withdrew from the scene.

Often, the aggression is minor, but the reaction is severe. The children fight over the possession of the most trifling object, and the loser weeps bitter tears, usually falling to the ground screaming. When playing, the children are constantly frustrating each other, and they then burst into sham screaming. I say sham, because the tears and

cries disappear the moment the frustration is removed. (20)"

"20. This pattern of crying at the slightest provocation can, probably be traced to the infancy situation, where it was a mastery technique. Crying would always relieve the frustration. These children still attempt to master their reality situation with a technique that no longer works. It is typical regressive behavior, an attempt to cope with a problem on a lower level of integration. It is only after they realize that crying is of no avail that they abandon it."

"Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child [WPM: see p. 103, paragraph 1-5.] he is with, so the latter tries to distract his attention from the other children. If, while holding Iliakong, I would turn to give some attention to other children, she would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned her in favor of the others, she bent down, with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior.

At times, the patterns of aggression interfere with those of cooperation. As we came into a canoe house, a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some, and offered a piece to Iliakong, bringing it to her. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, which we shall describe shortly, or is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three year old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and in general maltreat them."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."